THE New Republic

Reform in Viet-nam: An Interview with Wolf Ladejinsky

PAGE 10

OIL AND POLITICS

How one of our richest industries persuades the public that what is good for oil is good for all

BY ROBERT ENGLER

Those Risky Federal Workers

"When a gal entertains a friend in her apartment and the lights grow dim and voices sink to a murmur, what is going on may be a Communist plot, but we don't think so in Baltimore"—GERALD W. JOHNSON, page 17

AUGUST 29, 1955

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Washington Wire .... T.R.B.

It's the kind of story, probably apocryphal, that travels the Washington grapevine with the speed of light. Two governors, attending a recent conference in Chicago, were discussing the state of the Union and the health of its leaders.

The first governor said: "What if Ike died and we got Dick Nixon? Can you think of anything worse?"

The second governor replied: "Yes. I can think of something worse. What if Sherm Adams died and we got Ike?"

As President Eisenhower's chief of staff in the White House, former Governor Sherman Adams of New Hampshire is in fact the active operating head of the United States Government in this Administration. He makes the routine day-to-day decisions. He calls the signals for "the team."

It would be a mistake to assume that he runs the President. He doesn't. He gives him one of the biggest managerial jobs of recorded history. Adams remains in the White House managing while the President is out golfing, fishing, painting, accepting gift cows at Gettysburg, etc., etc., etc.

What kind of fellow Adams is, therefore, would seem to be a matter of some importance. It has generally been assumed that, considering his New England Republican background, he is mildly liberal. This assumption seems to be based principally on the much-advertised fact that he was one of the original Ike-for-President men and therefore one of the against-Taft-for-President men among the active politicians who had something to gain and something to lose by guessing right or wrong in 1951 and 1952.

Since he entered the White House, Adams has been remarkably anonymous considering the scope of his power. Interviewers, even when they can get to him, get precious little out of him. He is laconic in the best New England manner. Some politicians like him and some don't. Most of them respect his industry, his intelligence and his devotion to his chief. Nobody questions that he is honest and courageous according to his lights.

The question is how bright his lights are. The flashes leaked out from under his bushel from time to time have obscured more than enlightened. During the Army-McCarthy hearings, Joe

"Where seldom is heard a discouraging word"

McCarthy insisted that Adams was responsible for cooking up an Administration plot to destroy him, a charge which, although never proved, added a cubit to Adams' stature. But in the Dixon-Yates affair and in several less important matters, Adams was caught in less praiseworthy pursuits. The evidence suggested that in these his capacity was that of cover-upper-in-chief.

Then, last week, came a piece of earwitness evidence which did more to thin the air of mystery surrounding Adams than anything hitherto produced. It came from former Sen. Harry Cain of Washington State, now a member of the Administration's Subversive Activities Control Board, to which he was appointed after he had failed to win re-election to the Senate in 1952.

A Collier's article entitled, "The Harry Cain Mutiny," obviously prepared with the former Senator's help, told what happened to Cain when he started criticizing the Administration's policy of harassing, firing and often ruining government employes on the pretext, sometimes supported by the flimsiest kind of evidence or, indeed, no real evidence at all, that they were "security risks." Although a former friend and follower of McCarthy, Cain learned enough about the security program after leaving the Senate to feel that it was "unnecessarily destroying individuals" and "a heinous thing."

After he said so publicly, Cain was invited to the White House by Adams and given "unshirted hell." Adams at first tried to reason with Cain but kept losing the argument because Cain knew too much about security. Finally Adams blurted: "To hell with the merits. You understand this problem better than I do, but this is a team and you're expected to play on it."

In these few well-chosen words, Adams himself exlained, better than any sideline critic has been able to do it, what's wrong with the Eisenhower team, its style of play and its quarterback. Adams probably wasn't unsympathetic to Cain's complaint. Neither were a majority of the Cabinet. But Attorney General Herbert Brownell was insisting that the Administration's internal security policy was politically profitable, so it was being played his way.

As usual, when the choice was between expediency and principle, expediency had it.

The fact is that Adams and his associates in the White House count that day won in which nothing happens to disturb the President's peace of mind or the rhythm of his golf stroke. Protected by his anonymity, accountable neither to Congress nor the public, Adams' sole responsibility is to the President. The President doesn't like disturbances. Adams tries to keep things undisturbed and, if that's impossible, to conceal the disturbances and to hell with the merits.

It wouldn't be such a disaster if we got Ike instead of Adams. Actually, you and I and the second governor wouldn't know the difference.

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BEHIND THE HEADLINES

It's Official: US Won't Give Up Her Bombs

FOR THREE months a great debate has been waging in Washington among officials in the State Department, the Pentagon, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Office of the President. Disarmament tenets which the United States had defended for nine years had been scrapped, it was clear, and the nation was groping toward a new concept. From time to time the President, or some "unnamed high officials," gave fragmentary glimpses of the new approach.

During the last two weeks before the opening of the UN Disarmament talks in New York on August 29, the basic elements in the new approach and the reasons for them were revealed to the press in a series of interviews:

1. "Total disarmament in the atomic age is impossible." The words are those of President Eisenhower's Assistant, Harold E. Stassen, who will represent the President at the New York talks. The US is no longer prepared to discuss total elimination of nuclear weapons. Our top scientists have persuaded the White House that no presently known method of arms inspection will detect hidden nuclear arms. Therefore the US must keep part of its armament to defend itself if other nations violate the agreement.

This gloomy conclusion had been hinted earlier by the President, but had not been declared openly for several reasons. First, it became the agreed position of the government only in late July. At Geneva the President carefully avoided any commitment on the amount of disarmament the US would accept in return for an inspection system. Second, our new policy against total disarmament is so disappointing to people in the smaller European countries and to neutral countries in Asia that it could best be made public in connection with an alternative plan. That is what the US is prepared to offer in New York.

2. President Eisenhower's proposal for exchange of blueprints and aerial inspection was directed at a US-Russian bilateral agreement. The two greatest nuclear powers, he reasoned, have the most to lose from a surprise atomic attack. An agreement between them would set the stage for a wider agreement among many countries. Harold Stassen will be responsible for both approaches at New York, discussing one with his Russian colleague, the other with the entire UN Subcommittee.

3. The President will offer, through Stassen, to extend his aerial inspection plan to American bases overseas. There never was any objection to this on the part of the US, but since those bases involve such varied nations as Iceland, Libya, Ethiopia, Turkey and Japan, with different laws and political sensitivities, the US had to reach an understanding with each government. Since Geneva those negotiations have been held.

4. The US will no longer insist upon unlimited access for ground inspectors in foreign countries like the Soviet Union. This yielding is prompted by reluctance to subject our own people to such search by the Russians. The US has some military development work which it has no intention of showing the Russians under a limited arms agreement. There are also civilian considerations. American industrial competition has always been based in part upon secret processes, as well as patents, and there is no reason to expose these processes to Russian inspectors under a limited arms control plan. Something less than full disclosure will be proposed. Moreover, the freedom of American citizens from search in their private homes was a major issue in the Revolution of 1776, and might well become an issue again if the US insisted upon unlimited access for ground inspection teams in the Soviet Union.

5. The US will insist on its previous position that the inspection system must be established and in operation before any arms limitation plan is put into effect.

6. If agreement is reached on the foregoing, the US is prepared to accept arms limitation. The US will propose limitations itself, and will be open-minded in considering anyone else's proposals for a cutback. But any cutback must preserve the equilibrium of power between the East and West, must be verified by adequate inspection, and must leave in the hands of the US sufficient military force to take defensive action if another nation violates the agreement. The US is prepared to prohibit further testing of nuclear weapons at an advanced stage of arms control.

Agreement at New York is still a long way off, but the American staff is definitely hopeful of unanimous approval of some arms limitation scheme which can be submitted to a UN Disarmament Conference.

Pity the Poor Working Girl

DEMOCRATS in search of dissatisfied groups of voters grumbling amid America's great prosperity might have a look at the nation's working women. While the average wage of male workers went up from $2,000 in 1942 to $3,469 as of August 19, 1955, the paycheck of the average female rose from a scanty $962 to a scanty $1,252 during the same period. One reason is that many women are employed in unorganized industries.

Taking into account the 40 percent rise in prices since 1942, one finds that the laboring ladies of the land have been getting progressively poorer while everyone else has been getting richer. They are, in fact, 13 percent worse off now than they were 13 years ago. The 20 million working—and voting—women who have been so far outdistanced by their male competitors may be found deserving of some special Democratic attention.

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Counting Golf Balls at Nine Miles

A MAJOR topic at the new disarmament talks is likely to center on how reliable aerial photography is in spotting military secrets. The American staff is prepared to justify President Eisenhower's faith that nothing of major military significance can be hidden from the aerial camera.

The Air Force has just released a photograph taken at an altitude of nine miles, or 47,000 feet, in which a photo analyst located a golf course, and on one green picked out two golf balls.

One of the nation's top photo interpreters, Donald Belcher of the Cornell University Airphoto Research Center, makes these observations on his experience with aerial detection:

Photographs from high flying planes have spotted buried villages in Egypt, old fortifications covered with drift sand in Iran, and ancient walls buried beneath the soil and actually covered with wheat fields in England. Buried pipelines only a few inches in diameter cannot be hidden from the camera. Land mines buried in Egypt by Rommel's men 15 years ago are now being located by air photo.

Every industrial plant has characteristics identifiable by the photo interpreter, who cannot be fooled for long by camouflage or dummy smokestacks. If a new plant looks like a power generator, the analyst will look for the water power, coal or oil. If he can exclude these sources of power, he will assume it is an atomic plant, and scientists in the atomic field will then determine, by known characteristics, what type of atomic process is involved.

Aerial interpretation can actually reveal details which escape the eye at ground level because the expert will use a pair of photographs, which are examined through a pair of lenses to give 3-dimensional view. The analyst can thus count the shocks of wheat in a photograph taken 3 miles high, and even detect where hay was raked into a windrow the previous year by the way the grass now grows.

Under such minute inspection, no underground factory, ammunition dump or plane hangar can long be concealed because the buried power lines, fuel lines, supply deliveries, and even the number of vehicles on nearby roads can readily be counted. The American negotiators are satisfied that the Soviets are not behind us in any of these arts.

It is with facts like these, possibly accompanied by sample photographs and demonstrations, that the American delegation to the UN talks will be prepared to answer Premier Bulganin's skepticism. The Russian premier remarked after the Geneva talks: "One can hide anything one wants to" from the aerial camera. It is possible that the Premier is not fully informed on the skill of his own Russian airphoto detectives.

The Cliches of Conduct

THE Code of Conduct for American fighting men, issued by President Eisenhower, is an impeccable document, as pure as the Boy Scout's Oath. What decent citizen, for instance, would take exception to Article VI: "I will never forget that I am an American fighting man, responsible for my actions, and dedicated to the principles which made my country free. I will trust in my God and in the United States of America."

The question remains, however, whether this code, this broad statement of reverent principles, meets problems it has been set up to meet. Did the "Progressives" in the North Korean prison camps fall because they forgot they were American fighting men? Will future draftees really be bolstered, perhaps saved, by having memorized six paragraphs of a military code?

The full report of the Secretary of Defense's 10-man committee—made up of manpower administrators and retired officers—is a more provocative document than the code itself would indicate. Referring to the prisoners who submitted passively to Communist indoctrination, the report says: ". . . these POWs . . . had lost their battle before they entered the service." But in the very next sentence, we are back in the simple advertiser's world of the cure-all generalization: "Good citizens — loyal Americans—the responsibility for their building lies with the home, the school, the church, the community."

Now there is nothing particularly wrong with this generalization, just as there is nothing particularly wrong with the Code of Conduct. But both leave unanswered the questions that the committee should have tried to answer. Perhaps the schools have failed . . . but why have they failed and where? Surely not in providing platitudes of the sort which have now been put together in the form of a Code of Conduct. School texts, sermons, political speeches—all are chock full of patriotic bromides about the American way. Perhaps they have worn so thin that neither those who exploit them nor those who hear them know exactly what is being talked about . . . and with times so good nobody

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seems to care much. Slogans sell a lot of soap, but one of the lessons of the prison camps may be that they are less successful—whether in the guise of a Presidential address or a Code of Conduct—in instilling the values which can keep citizens strong when times are not so good.

"Sincerely, Louis Wolfson"

CITIZENS of Washington, D. C., have been reluctantly getting lessons in high finance, 1955 style. Their professor has been Louis E. Wolfson, a young man who parlayed a Florida junk business, via war surplus deals, into control of several substantial corporations. One of them is Washington's transit system.

Capital Transit was once a plump and happy company with mostly new equipment, reasonable fares, efficient service and more than $5 million in its cash reserve (a situation not unlike that of Montgomery Ward). It was the cash that proved its downfall. Wolfson once told a reporter that you never get bargains in cheap things. Too many other people have the price. When you get above a million and can lay out cold, hard cash, then you may get a good buy. To Wolfson, Capital Transit looked like a very good buy indeed when he discovered that he could get control with less than half of the amount stashed away in the company's reserves. As head of a syndicate of relatives and friends, he bought. The price they paid was little more than $5 a share. Then Washingtonians began to receive their lessons in how to make money.

In April, 1951, Wolfson, his relatives and friends, installed themselves in Capital Transit's top jobs, with Wolfson as board chairman, with excellent salaries, expense accounts, and all the perquisites. The new board of directors began to declare dividends, piecemeal, out of the cash reserves. Increased dividends, even if they were not out of earnings, sent the price of Capital Transit stock up, thus earning the new owners a tidy paper profit. The stock was then split, a maneuver which in itself tends to increase investor interest and further increase prices. Some $1.5 million in Capital Transit real estate, including a profitable amusement park, were siphoned off into another corporation and its stock distributed to stock holders. Every year Capital Transit asked for fare increases and generally received at least part of what it asked.

The Wolfson syndicate soon had received back more than it had paid for the company and still had the company. But there was one trouble: the income was subject to income taxes, and taxes were high. If the company could be sold or foisted off on a municipal authority, the capital-gains tax of only 25 percent would apply to the profits. Soon it seemed to Washingtonians that Capital Transit was intentionally making itself unpopular. As of July 1 it certainly was. Then something happened almost as if it had been planned. Capital Transit's drivers struck. Prior to the strike the company had made no offer to the union, and to some it appeared that what the company wanted most in the world was a nice long strike. If so, they got it. Washington hitch-hiked for 52 days.

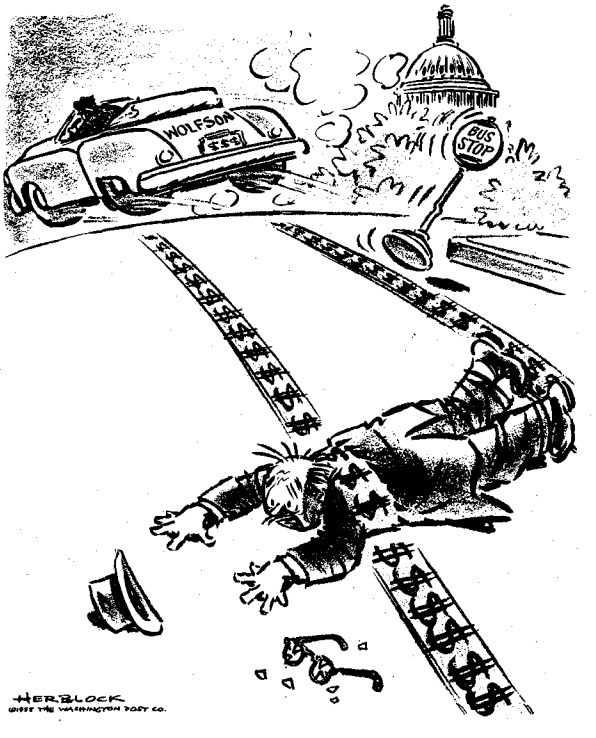
Business in Washington cannot always be conducted in precisely the same manner in which it can be conducted elsewhere. Washington is where Congress sits, and Washingtonians have no voice in their government. It was an annoyed Congress which finally passed a law under the terms of which Capital Transit loses its franchise within one year. In the meantime the District of Columbia has put the transit system back in operation by accepting the responsibility for losses during the year.

A joker goes along with the loss of the franchise; the company must take up its streetcar tracks and repave the streets. This will cost an estimated $5 million. But this prospect, plus loss of the franchise, does not appear to have bothered Wolfson. He has announced that he will be glad to sell the company for $14.5 million, which amounts to about $15 a share. At least one syndicate is dickering with Wolfson to buy—but very probably not at that price.

The *Washington Post*, which has been sharply critical of Wolfson and which has now been sued for $30 million for libel for its pains, has been inquiring in print why anybody has to buy out Wolfson at all. The streetcars are going to be abandoned anyway, it says, and all anybody needs to operate a transit system in Washington is about 1,200 buses (which the *Post* suggests could be bought second-hand), parking places and an office. Then Wolfson could peddle his streetcars (there isn't much of a market for streetcars these days) where he could. Capital Transit would remain stuck with its obligation to take up its tracks and repave the streets. This idea does not seem to have penetrated to the investing public. Last week Capital Transit stock rose to $11.25 on the New York Stock Exchange. But if Wolfson would not care for such a solution, neither would the union whose members would lose valuable pension and seniority rights if a new company took over the transit franchise.

The transit strike was the second longest in the history of any major American city. (Detroit set a record of 56 days.) Hot and weary Washingtonians are glad to have a transit system operating again, but they are less glad about the rise in the already high fares.

The transit problem is not peculiar to Washington. In 1946 American road buses, streetcars and commuter railroads



"Capital transient"

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carried some 19 billion passengers; the figure was down to 9.8 billion last year, and is getting lower as auto sales rise higher. Fares, meanwhile, have doubled in the past 10 years; since 1950 they've climbed three times as fast as the cost of living. Public ownership of the transit system has been established in New York, Chicago, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, and most other big cities. Traction authorities around the country are coming to see city-owned lines operated by private companies at reasonable fares as the only hope for an improved transit system. As one Ohio traction commissioner explains that today, ". . . private enterprise in public transit is just about as practical as General Custer's last stand."

No Thousands Cheer As the Curtain Falls

THE HOUSE Committee on Un-American Activities, after one week in soggy grip with the Communist conspiracy in the New York theatre, has gone home. It played four days to standing room with its headlines never larger and its bag never smaller.

August is the cruelest month for city editors and forces them to cry up any gaggle of geese as though it were a pride of lions. That would be the only rational reason why the newspapers gave more display to the objections of witness Madeline Lee, who toils in artistic near-anonymity as the offscreen voice of a crying baby, than they gave the confessions of Artie Shaw during the anti-Communist boom month of February, 1953.

The Walter Committee heard 22 theatrical persons, most of whose names had only the faintest tug on non-professional memories. Only one of them, a comedian named George Hall, would offer up any account of his revolutionary activities at all. Hall had joined the party in 1946 and left it barely a year later. During his Communist period he had endured 15 meetings and entertained at five fund-raising parties. He had read the first chapter of the history of the Communist Party of the USSR, but his Bolshevik ardor had carried him no farther. The party had operated a fraction inside Actors' Equity, but he hadn't made any of its meetings. The Committee had come to disinter a Communist underground in the entertainment unions. The only confessing conspirator it found also confessed himself too lazy to conspire. We have come a long way from Whittaker Chambers.

The sense was irresistible that even Committee Chairman Francis E. Walter (D, Pa.) felt the letdown. He told television cameramen at one point that the need for economy had been one factor in this particular show; that could explain why most of the names he called had been moldering so long in the committee's old files. "I decided," said Walter, "to use the work already done in order to save the committee money."

There were at least three witnesses who had been subpoenaed two-and-a-half years ago and had been excused be-

cause the committee didn't have time to hear them. One was Eliot Sullivan, an actor long since disintegrated by the blacklist; another was Susan D'Usseau, whose connection with the theatre consists of her marriage to a playwright. The last was Stanley Prager, who despite the Committee's long knowledge of his treasonable taint has been permitted to go on menacing our institutions every night in *The Pajama Game*. Committee Counsel Frank Tavenner, who is the gentlest of men, never argued that these poor mimes are espionage agents. The worst crime he laid to them is donating their talents free to Communist entertainments. It was a pity he did not pursue Stanley Prager down that path; the last benefit Prager played was at a luncheon for Westbrook Pegler.

The moving inspiration for this particular inquiry seems to have been "Aware, Inc., An Organization to Combat the Communist Conspiracy in Entertainment," which is a sort of Salvation Army *cum* goon squad for entertainers with pro-Communist pasts and presents. *Aware* holds out the carrot of clearance to the errant who will walk its path of repentance and the club of the blacklist over those who won't. All last week's targets are among the victims of the blacklist; it is, of course, to *Aware's* interest to prove the undebatable proposition that pro-Communists are among the opponents of "Red Channels." This summer, a public display of this irrelevancy seemed especially necessary to *Aware's* continued good health; the New York membership of the AFL American Federation of Television and Radio Artists had officially condemned it for interfering in their union's business.

Aware was modest about its part in this latest investigation; when it came time to throw a welcoming rally in New York for Tad Walter and his colleagues, the sponsor turned out to be another front called *Alliance, Inc.*, which may indicate how much anti-Communism has learned from the enemy.

It was a gathering with more memory than hope in it. Speaker William F. Buckley Jr. wondered aloud in his sardonic fashion how long we can blame an actor for associating with Communists after the spectacle of President Eisenhower smiling at General Zhukov. There was a certain flavor of mortality about these cheering ladies with their yellowing "I'm for McCarthy" buttons. The cries were loudest for that fallen leader, although Tad Walter conspicuously failed to applaud when McCarthy's name was mentioned in a pantheon of heroes of the resistance otherwise confined to himself and Douglas MacArthur. Still he showed his sense of fitness by rising to return their welcoming yell with that ritual formula from the days of puissance: "Who Promoted Peress?" But Francis E. Walter, in all matters not involving his own self-esteem, is a very practical public man, and it is difficult to believe that he took all this very seriously. Late in the hearings, unfriendly witness Harold Salemson observed that this committee had been going on for a long time, and Walter aroused himself to observe, "Yes, I know," in tones dragging with boredom.

And they were the outward manifestation of an interior decay which must

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go very deep. The committee's sickness shows in a lassitude that goes beyond boredom. Even the headlines could not obscure the fact that it is now feeding off dead minnows; the great names upon which it grew fat are all used up. And, in contrast, its witnesses have not been cheekier since the days when they used fairly to spit in Martin Dies' eye.

Four witnesses refused even to cloak their defiance in the armor of the Fifth Amendment. They will be cited for contempt; they hope to win their cases by claiming that the committee inquiry has no legislative purpose and violates those amendments to the constitution which protect free speech and the right of security of the person. It was a stand which lent them a certain dignity, and reminded everyone present what a terrible sacrifice of posture the party made when it told its faithful to take the Fifth Amendment. More important, with the courts increasingly dubious, the Un-American Activities Committee now faces a legal quarrel which, if lost, could destroy its machinery.

New York MURRAY KEMPTON

Science, Once Again Without Curtains

TO THE layman in nuclear science the most striking evidence that the atoms-for-peace conference in Geneva was a success could be picked up in the corridors of the Palais des Nations and in the dozen or so big cocktail parties of the various delegations. Delegates and observers wore on their suit lapels cards under cellophane giving their names and nations. West and East; Atlantic and Communist; Asian, European and American, melted away. Everyone talked to everyone else, most especially the Russians to the Americans. And the talk, rather than the meaningless chit-chat common at cocktail parties, was most often a scientific exchanging of notes and an anticipation of further exchanges in the future. There is practically no doubt that this conference will lead to others.

The biggest cocktail party was given by the Russians, at the Metropole; the best by the French, aboard a boat on Lake Leman, with champagne *à volonté* —and beyond. Others were given by the Americans, the British, the Italians, the Argentines, the Indians, the Australians, the Japanese and, of course, the Swiss. Despite the food and drink, these were as much working sessions as those at the Palais.

I made a point at the Italian party of keeping close to Professor Skobeltzin, the head of the Soviet delegation. He is a big, heavy-jowled man—ponderous, glowering, with the reputation of being a sour puss, slow in movement, taciturn in speech and totally lacking in joviality. So far as I could see and hear, he didn't live up to his reputation when men with US tags on their lapels were anywhere nearby. He took the initiative in approaching them, in talking animatedly, with smiles and gestures, in a very creditable English. He seemed to know what every American's scientific specialty was, and the conversations bristled with facts and figures.

In the corridors of the Palais, the Russians and also the scientists from the satellite countries broke cleanly with the old Stalinist tradition of remaining together in tight and impenetrable groups. It would be silly, however, to assume that this conference spells the end of the cold war or the iron curtain, even on a strictly scientific and for-peace basis. Yet the "new spirit" had more real and practical implications here than when the Big Four met. I have it on excellent authority that one or more Russians will be invited to attend the solar energy and wind power conference in Arizona later this year, and that a biological conference—theme: "What is Life" — will be held in Russia with prominent Americans present, under the auspices of the International Council of Scientific Unions.

Several of the top Indian delegates and members of other delegations, Western European as well as Asian, accepted invitations to visit Russia after the end of the conference. Although, at this writing, no similar visit has been arranged for any American party, I am told that Admiral Lewis Strauss found no objection to the visits to Russia by scientists from countries to which we are now giving practical help in the atomic field.

If true, this latter fact is especially significant in regard to the Indians. For I am informed that negotiations between New Delhi and Washington now in progress are well on the way toward a successful conclusion, whereby the atomic reactor which the Indians are building will get enriched uranium and all other supplies it needs. Professor Bhabha, of India, the president of this conference, ducked questions on whether these supplies would come from Great Britain or the US. The reason was domestic politics, in both India and the US: Pandit Nehru would find it difficult to admit to an atomic connection, even for peaceful uses, with Washington; and on Capitol Hill there might be trouble about admitting that we are atomically co-operating with an Asian government committed to any form of neutralism.

Professor Bhabha, by the way, inadvertently gave a lead to the sensation hunters in his opening address. He predicted that within about 20 years atomic energy would be produced not only by the fission process but also by fusion—the H-bomb method. There were two reasons why this statement caused the newspapermen, especially the Americans, to use up nearly all the time at the major press conferences during the first week of the conference with questions about developments in fusion. First, the peaceful and military uses of atomic energy cannot really be separated; and any major emphasis on fusion research for peaceful purposes could mean, therefore, an indirect continuation of the cold war. Second, the development of fusion as a means of generating atomic power can make obsolete the enormous investments in fission.

I asked several of the leading scientists why the various delegations felt—as they obviously did—that this line of questioning—to the exclusion of all others—tended to falsify the spirit and the meaning of this conference. Dr. Willard Libby of the American delegation said: "Fusion lies too far ahead in the future; we know far too little about it. That's why we didn't put it on the agenda here; we have too much to do in other fields." Sir John Cockcroft of the British said tartly: "It's all very well for people who haven't done any practical work in the field to make theoretical predictions. We in Britain are doing practical work." Professor Bhabha himself stuck to his prediction but expressed the opinion that, much as the airplane hasn't displaced the train, fusion power won't for generations, maybe centuries, displace fission. Professor Ferretti, the top Italian physicist, whom Professor Rabi of the American delega-

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tion called "one of the really big men," said: "Of course fusion is important. If we can really develop and use fission as a source of atomic energy for peaceful uses, the world will have enough power for, let's say, three or four centuries; if we can develop fusion, we'll have enough power forever. But, for my part, I think a few centuries are enough."

The question of power production dominated the conference, and for a simple reason: most European and Asian countries aren't in the fortunate position of the Americans or, to a lesser extent, of the Russians; they greatly need to develop new power sources.

Here, I have been told by everyone able to judge, the British are moving fastest and farthest. Their share in the so-called "commercial" exhibition of atomic power is by far the most impressive. They are already in the atom business, although Sir Christopher Hinton, the head of the industrial group at Risley, has been blunt in correcting the promise of the British atom salesman that reactors will be on the market, for sale, in 18 months or two years; he and Sir John talk of the early 1960's as a more probable date. Although the French consider *their* program to be the best, one of their delegates commented on the British to me: "Only the Americans can afford waste. The British are making every penny count. The results and the prospect are impressive." The same Frenchman went on, with the kind of frankness I have found general here, to say that the French and the British atomic programs have one element in common. He called it "salvation" — only through well-developed atomic power can the British save themselves economically; only through a parallel economic development can the French save themselves politically.

The only sensation of the conference —some called it a scandal—was produced when Sir Ernest Rock Carling of the British Medical Research Council chose to be witty about the genetical dangers of exposion to atomic rays. It has been known since 1927 that radiation can produce genetic mutations—changes in heredity. Sir Ernest said that "for the benefit of the race as a whole in the future one mutation which results in an Aristotle, a Leonardo, a Newton, a Gauss, a Pasteur, an Einstein might well outweigh 99 that lead to mental defectives."

At once Professor A. Gustafsson of Sweden, a country far in the lead in genetic research, said bluntly: "I am not impressed by your kind of humor. Your statement is not a fact. One mutation can cause an idiot, but the power to form a genius involves the totality of all the genes both beneficial and detrimental—in fact many thousands of genes."

This exchange brought into focus one of the major contradictions of modern atomic science: the physicists feel sure they can control, and avert, the harmful effects of radiation, and also that they can safely dispose of waste products; the doctors, the biologists and, above all, the geneticists tend to be pessimistic and frightened. The dangers come from two sources: radioactive waste from reactors and the increasing distribution and use of radioisotopes. The pessimists believe that the large-scale development and use of radioactivity for peaceful uses represents a far greater danger than military uses.

In medicine, agriculture, forestry and fisheries mankind may profit, but eventually the price can be beyond present human imagination. Dr. Carter of the British Medical Research Council said (despite Sir Ernest's levity) that we are profoundly ignorant of all quantitative aspects of the subject of dangerous mutation but that "we know enough to be apprehensive." He called for widespread international co-operation to study the dangers.

An American biologist commented ironically that there was no danger of life disappearing from this planet; the lowest forms of life, for example the virus and the microbe, are far more resistant than human beings and warm-blooded mammals; the only danger, therefore, is of disappearance of *human* life.

It is definitely known that an overwhelmingly large proportion of mutations caused by irradiation are terribly harmful. In agriculture the proportion is one beneficial mutation to more than 500 harmful. But here the dangers are not comparable to those in dealing with the human species; and agricultural experiment has led to the use of the beneficial mutations. Newer and better types of grains and vegetables have been developed. Methods for inducing radiation have now reached a point where it is possible purposely to modify plants better to suit man's purposes. Professor Gustafsson told of the "modernization" of farm crops, barley for example, which at present differ in almost no respect from the barley of 500,000 years ago. Barley will be made more like wheat, and wheat more like barley.

At the medical sessions papers were read on methods of using atomic energy against the diseases which destroy man: cancer, polio, leprosy, malaria, pernicious anemia. The first line of attack is on the carriers of epidemic diseases, from the housefly, which can be branded with isotopes and tracked, to the viruses which can be labeled and studied in transmission. One way of getting rid of disease-carrying insects is to sterilize them so they cannot breed. By using isotopes, air-borne and water-borne diseases can now be studied. Atomic sterilization of food may replace—some time in the future—refrigeration, pasteurization and vacuum packing.

Thanks to isotopes, it is now possible to measure accurately how the calcium in milk becomes of value in the food of children, old people and young animals; or how Vitamin B-12 works against pernicious anemia, or how—in new diagnostic techniques—information can be conveyed from inside the human body to a television screen. Professor Fateieva, a Soviet woman scientist, described how radioiodine is used in thyroid conditions—there have been mass-scale examinations of endemic goiter. Soviet experts have also been making progress in studying blood-pressure, rheumocarditis and heart disease.

The great majority of the papers presented in this—and all the other fields —have come from the Americans, the British and the Russians, but contributions of high quality have been made by scientists from France, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Switzerland, Canada, India, Egypt, Portugal and other countries. In every field, the Americans have been more than generous. If this was a good will conference, the US is certain to profit from it most. That is a great gain. But the greatest gain is perhaps the fact that science is once again becoming universal—without curtains.

Geneva PERCY WINNER

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BUSINESSMEN IN GOVERNMENT

The Old Dispute over Dollar-a-Year Officials

WHEN Assistant Attorney General Stanley Barnes announced, on August 4, that Franz Von Schilling, a Caltex Oil Company official, was being removed from his without-compensation post as head of the Interior Department's advisory group on foreign petroleum supplies, he said that Mr. Von Schilling had been operating in "a borderland of law and ethics." Mr. Barnes explained: ". . . Mr. Von Schilling was put in the unseemly position of policing, directing and reporting on activities of those companies on which his immediate livelihood depended." Mr. Von Schilling is not the first to be put in such an unseemly position, and the present Administration is not the first to be attacked for having opened the "conflict-of-interest" gate and allowed businessmen to graze in official pastures.

Dollar-a-year men were employed by the Federal Government before World War I, for the most part as consulting scientists called in to deal with specific technical matters. They were paid a dollar in order to avoid prosecution under the section of the US Criminal Code which forbids anyone to contribute his services to the Government *gratis,* and to establish a conclusive employer-employee relationship.

In 1916, with war approaching, Congress created an Advisory Commission to the Council of National Defense, to be staffed with executives from industry and finance. Their apearance in May and June of 1917 was heralded as the "Descent on Washington of the Kings of Finance and the Captains of Industry at the call of the trumpet." Herbert Hoover, Bernard Baruch and Lessing Rosenwald arrived as part of the "new Business Administration," from which brilliant deeds were expected, and in 1918, the *New Republic* was impressed enough to write: ". . . the whole result has been a remarkable sifting of these men for their abilities."

Not everyone concurred in this judgment, however. The reaction in Congress was particularly unfavorable — vehemently so. The dollar-a-year men were accused of "sitting in swivel chairs and fixing up jobs on the American people." They were charged with everything from accepting graft to raising rentals in the capital.

Under this assault, the National Defense Council and its highly-paid, highly-suspect executives lapsed into inactivity before the end of the war.

But 20 years later they—or their successors—were active again. Men from private industry are highly valued in times of national emergency. Their industries must be mobilized; production must be increased; plant capacity must be expanded; civilian enterprise must be converted to military needs.

In 1940, the old Advisory Commission was resurrected under Edward R. Stettinius Jr., and the first National Defense Appropriations Act provided for the employment of "any person of outstanding exerience and ability at a compensation of one dollar per annum." The Commission ultimately became the War Production Board, headed by Donald M. Nelson, who declared: "On this job we must get the maximum results from American industry and to do that we must have . . . men who understand and can deal with industry's intricate structure and operation."

Men of independent means, like Nelson himself, William S. Knudsen and Charles F. Kettering, both of General Motors, could accept jobs at a dollar a year and devote themselves wholly to Government service. In order to lure less wealthy businessmen to Washington, the WOC category was set up. This group was permitted to continue receiving their substantial pay checks from industry while they aided the war effort, "without compensation." The WOCs were allowed to serve only as consultants, without administrative or executive authority and on a part-time basis. No such restrictions were placed on the dollar-a-year men, who had severed all financial ties with their old firms.

In 1944 there were 653 dollar-a-year men and 99 WOCs serving in the War Production Board. More than 80 percent of them were from private enterprise; about four percent came from universities; and three percent were from local government and the trade unions. Just as in 1916, there was a great deal of criticism. Just as in 1916 the loudest criticism came from the Senate, particularly from the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program —the famous Truman Committee.

The committee charged that the businessmen accorded definite advantages to their own corporations by getting information and making favorable contacts inside Government—often at the expense of their smaller competitors. Its conclusion: "The committee is opposed to a policy of taking free services from persons with axes to grind, and the committee believes that the Government should not continue to accept the loan of dollar-a-year men and WOC men by companies with so large a stake in the defense program."

Senator Truman's charges were given substance in March, 1943, when Robert R. Guthrie, himself a dollar-a-year man, resigned as chief of the WPB's Textile, Clothing and Leather Goods Branch. He accused his colleagues of representing special interests and thereby retarding the country's conversion-to-war work. Nevertheless, the dollar-a-year men remained in the capital throughout the war. In 1947, Mr. Truman, now President, was able to put his committee's five-year-old recommendations into effect by abolishing the practice of borrowing personnel from industry entirely.

But then came Korea, and the same Harry Truman who had driven the private entrepreneurs from the temple of Government now invited them back. The Defense Production Act of 1950 authorized him "to employ persons of outstanding experience and ability without compensation." No distinction was made between dollar-a-year-men and WOCs. Furthermore, for the first time in American history, the President was authorized to grant specific statutory exemptions to these persons from the conflict-of-interest laws. And by October, 1951, some 4,397 WOCs were operating in Washington under the provisions of the Defense Production Act.

Mr. Truman's villains had once again been called upon to save the Nation, and once again the Senate led the protests against them. This time it was Sen. Paul Douglas' (D, Ill.) Subcommittee on Ethical Standards in Government which suggested an overhauling of the conflict-of-interest statutes: "The specialists from the industries should be on tap but not on top."

WALTER GOODMAN

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Ladejinsky on Land Reform in Viet-Nam

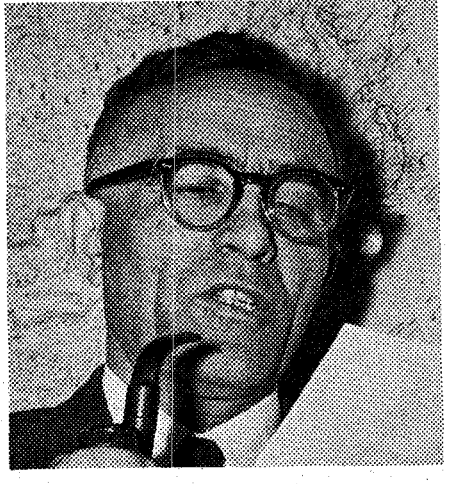
WHETHER Viet-Nam survives as a non-Communist state may turn on the success or failure of one man who shares a small office in Saigon, has neither a secretary nor a car, and who this year was fired by the Department of Agriculture as a "security risk."

When I saw Wolf Ladejinsky in Saigon this month, he had been at work only a few months with the United States Overseas Mission. Technically, he is the US advisor to the Viet-Nam Minister of Land Reform, a ministry created only this year. The Minister himself is a landowner with 5,000 hectares, a well-meaning, neat but obviously inexperienced public servant. Ladejinsky's task is the same as it was in Formosa and Japan: reform of the rent and land-holding system, removal of the vast disparity between the very rich landowner and his very poor tenant. In brief: undercutting the appeal to the peasants of the Communist North.

Considering the storm of publicity which preceded his assignment to Saigon, Ladejinsky goes about his job with remarkably little public attention. He has one able, young Viet-Namese assistant; together they fight shortages, snobs, red tape.

Since I was accompanied by a galaxy of Information and Land Reform officers, I feared that my visit with him might turn into a public debate instead of a private interview. To a man, however, the officials gave the stage to Ladejinsky, clearly respectful of this modest man whose single concern is the farmer —a concern which up to now neither French nor Viet-Namese authorities have taken seriously.

"Up to now," Ladejinsky said, "only the merest beginnings . . . an enormous amount will have to be done if a fair system of rents and land holdings is to be established."



WOLF LADEJINSKY

The obstacles he must overcome are staggering. One of them, as Ladejinsky describes it, is the legacy left by the Communist Viet-Minh in Southern Viet-Nam. The Viet-Minh had confiscated land and distributed it free to the peasants. The amount confiscated was not great, since only the land of absentee landlords was taken, but under Communist land reform the tenant paid almost no rent, as such. He paid in other ways, through taxation by the Viet-Minh which often amounted to more than the 15-20 percent of the farmer's income which the farmer is required to pay today in Viet-Nam under the new land reform program of the non-Communist South. But the farmer thought of these payments to Communist authority not as *rent*, but as something to do with politics: he was paying money for freedom from the French, for national independence. So, Ladejinsky comments, the tenant farmer in Viet-Nam today is not greatly attracted by the new land reform offers of rents at 15-20 percent.

A second obstacle is that land reform has always had its greatest appeal when it had something of novelty about it. But in Viet-Nam land reform has been talked about interminably since the Van Tam Government in 1925, not to mention its long exploitation by the Viet-Minh. Today, the peasant is bored and cynical.

Further, there is not yet in Viet-Nam, as Ladejinsky pointed out to me, any administrative set-up which can translate hopes into realities. Even under ideal conditions, reform would be difficult. Today it is almost impossible. The Viet-Namese Ministry of Land Reform consists of a one-man team. The day following my talk with Ladejinsky I saw the first six land reform workers complete their training at a small school on the edge of Saigon. They had had two weeks training and would be dealing with an area covering half a million people. The country needs to train young people "not in ones or twos, but in hundreds."

Ladejinsky is discovering that while the landlords are content to accept certain rent, in preference to confiscation under the Viet-Minh, they are still far from happy. They feel that 15-20 percent is too low, and now that some stabilization of law and order is taking place in the South, landlords are harking back to the old pre-civil war days. "They can't, or won't see that land reform not only will help their tenants, but will save them also."

Pressure from the top on behalf of the tenants is essential. In Formosa, as Ladejinsky says, Chen Chang had the power to support his position that "if you don't do it yourself, the government will make you do so." The real issue in South Viet-Nam is not whether land reform is accepted in theory by the government, but whether the trend in the countryside is toward reform. Conflict in the villages between landlord and tenant persists. There is no common ground between them, Ladejinsky says, and while this is so the stability of the non-Communist regime of Premier Diem is precarious.

Although Ladejinsky believes that Premier Diem's successful fight against the military sects is fine, he insists that Diem is making a grave mistake if he overlooks the greater struggle over land.

Here the issues are both simple and more vital: first, the need for agricultural credit. There are no rural banks in Viet-Nam, as there are in India. The tenant farmer is often hopelessly in debt, and while the US has supplied $8 million for rural credit, it is only a fraction of what is needed. More water buffalo are required. Some have been bought from Thailand, but not enough. There is a chronic shortage of fertilizer. In short: Viet-Nam requires not only land reform in the narrow sense of rents and ownership, but a new spirit in the countryside, and new techniques and greater amounts of capital.

Ladejinsky believes South Viet-Nam can hold out against Communist pressures—at least through next year, and for him, that time can be well used. The ordinary anxieties of politicians do not concern him. He is absorbed with one task—happiest when he is on a field mission, talking to farmers, lending a hand with a rice crop. His mission is a back-breaking one; it may turn out to be heart-breaking as well. Whatever happens, no man could do more.

Saigon COLIN JACKSON

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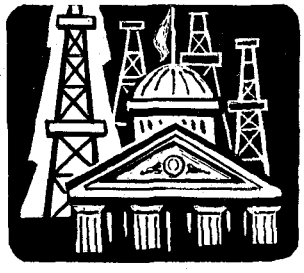
OIL AND POLITICS



A STUDY IN POWER—how one of America's richest industries protects its interests and persuades public opinion and public officials that what is good for oil is good for all.

by Robert Engler

THIS writer's interest in the problem of power has been a recurring one. My interest in oil began several years ago during the "tidelands" dispute. The speeches then were ringing and long. The hearings filled a shelf. After following them for awhile, I became dissatisfied with both the accusations of liberals who reduced the issue to a question of the "oil lobby" and those who resolved it into a matter of high principles and states' rights.

I looked for the much-mentioned oil lobby, and found it. But also I found an oil government—a private government of oil carefully interwoven with a public government run by oil. I looked for power-mad federal bureaucrats hell-bent on socializing America; I found public servants who believed deeply that offshore oil belonged to the nation rather than to a few states or companies, and that leasing of such lands for development by corporate interests should be under federal jurisdiction. Rarely did I encounter anyone who understood and was willing to tackle the problem on the basis of the power of the oil industry.

Since the very beginnings of this nation there have been periods when men debated openly the relation of concentrated economic power to political democracy. In the post-Civil War period, private economic power was identified with individual giants like Rockefeller or Carnegie. "Wall Street" came to symbolize the locus of private rule in American life, the source of influence or decision-making over the lives of men on the prairies of the Northwest, the plantations of the South and in legislative halls everywhere.

Such a time seems to have long since passed. The age of the corporation makes it difficult to talk in these terms. Few citizens can name the chairman, let alone a single member of the Board of Directors, of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), a holding company which is many times the size of the original Rockefeller empire split up by court edict in 1911. Equally little is known about the policies or structure of the other oil giants, although together with Jersey they comprise nine of the 17 manufacturing corporations with assets of more than $1 billion. Formidable perimeters of defense manned by public relations specialists, lawyers, lobbyists and vice presidents keep the immediate corporate economic activities well insulated from a not-too-interested public, while placing the spotlight on good deeds.

It is a commentary on our times that when "political" power is spoken of in relation to oil, chances are that we have in mind men like H. L. Hunt and H. R. Cullen—Texas millionaires who are actually small fry in the oil business as they are in the political arena. These men are vocal and their doings are relatively visible. Hence they have become synonymous with "oilmen in politics." Although exceedingly complicated, oil's international involvements have become better known than its domestic ones, through frequent press references to cartels, Near-Eastern policy and strategic materials.

To focus on international power and ideological struggles seems more pressing, and a period of prosperity takes the edge off the urgency for such an inquiry at home. Only older and unreconstructed native radicals talk of "Wall Street"; and "vested interests" is language generally reserved for daring candidates, usually Democratic, on the hustings. Even those willing to see the relevancy of the question to the course of democratic survival are uncertain where power resides. Some scholars argue that business power is balanced by labor, by agriculture, by competing corporate clusters, by government—all presumably separate forces which align and realign so as to prevent the domination of the country by any single segment. This concept assumes that the historic image of a liberal society in which individuals check and balance one another at polling booth and in the marketplace has been adjusted to groups balancing one another. Others conclude that power is so scattered as to make impossible the discernment of any one center.

In an age where politics is increasingly the basis for economics and government the vehicle for private ends, the formulation of public policy has become a deadly serious struggle for power. Entailing the highest stakes, only the surface portions of these conflicts operate through

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ROBERT ENGLER has travelled throughout the oil states during the past two years, interviewing industry executives, lobbyists, legislators and public relations men in his study of "the private government of oil." He contrasts his inquiry to that of Ida Tarbell in her famous 1904 history of Standard Oil by saying that where she assumed "the badness of bigness," he has "no illusions about the little guys in oil," is interested in how monopoly can be made responsible, and how one industry influences the social and political (as well as the economic) pattern of democratic society.

such formally defined political channels as voting.

Oil serves as one useful springboard for analyzing the problem of power in America. On a time-power scale of history its reign as a basic energy resource conceivably could be relatively short, for oil comes into its own just prior to the dawn of the atomic age. But meanwhile it remains one of the nation's giant industries, furnishing us ever-growing amounts of energy and power.

Where the interests of oil lie, what oil wants, how it goes about getting what it wants, the resulting impact upon public policy and democratic society, these provide the framework for this series of articles. There is considerable evidence that the oil industry knows how and when to use state and national agencies to attain its objectives, just as it knows when government's intervention as an ally is not desirable. There is less evidence that the American people know where they want to go—either in terms of formulating a national oil policy to replace our current legally archaic and administratively irresponsible approach to this resource, or more broadly, in terms of the general impact of private economic power upon democratic ideals and practices.

The problem throughout is not evil but power.

I. What Oil Wants

To ask an oilman if he or his company is involved in politics is equivalent to asking a businessman if his business practices are unethical. The reaction is immediate and indignant. Certainly no industry publicly sounds more eager to preserve the American mythology of the separation of economics and politics. Yet oil is a prospering industry which does exceedingly well in achieving all those objectives requiring the aid or sanction of government. And regardless of the protestations or the achievements of oil, the individual oil corporations and the large trade associations in which they are joined, are in themselves essentially political as well as economic.

The oil corporation as a political institution has roots going back to the origins of the industry. The one-man divining-rod ventures, the stock promotion drilling companies, the state incorporation of private refineries, the running of pipe lines and the contests over their use and control, the abortive trade associations, the emergence of the Rockefeller empire, the frantic appeal of small businessmen for government to check monopoly, the famous Standard Oil dissolution decree of 1911, and the development of the industry as a carefully structured system of private government—state, national and international—are each more or less distinct stages in this evolution.

Oil, with gross assets estimated at over $40 billion in production and refining alone, supplies the nation with some 35 to 40 percent of its fuel energy requirements. Better than ten percent of the land area of the country is under lease for oil and gas development. With gas, it is the largest single purchaser of capital goods. It is the biggest single item in international trade.

What does such an industry want from government? What are its relationships with the political processes? Why is it so successful in these dealings? And what is its impact on the American society?

Oil is interested in the whole range of American foreign policy, from Iran to fishing rights in the Gulf of Mexico, and from reciprocal trade to the decartelization of I. G. Farben. Involved companies successfully pressured the State Department against an embargo on oil to Italy during the Ethiopian War and argued for the appeasement of the Arab world during the Palestine controversy. In its councils are discussed the statehood of Alaska, mineral leasing rights in Montana and the highway taxes of every state. Oil wants to see public lands developed, not just held by government. It watches government experiments in synthetic rubber and liquid fuel. It fears the rivalry of atomic energy and is determined to keep its peaceful development under control.

Oil wants to be the arbiter of when and where government takes responsibility in relation to oil. It has preferred state to federal control of offshore oil, a development whose worth the industry persistently deprecated publicly prior to the 1953 "tidelands" legislation but which now is spoken of frankly in the *Oil and Gas Journal* as the "richest drilling prize in the history of the oil business." While maintaining a public air of indifference, oil fears and quietly opposes the earmarking of federal royalty and bonus money for education because of its potent political appeal. And it wants no regulations on the production and gathering of natural gas, the overwhelming bulk of which is produced in conjunction with oil and by affiliates of the major oil companies. It fears this will lead to the regulation of oil production.

Oil wants the sanction of public government wherever its own private practices risk running counter to the legal or value systems of the American people. Thus it receives State Department and National Security Council backing in setting up and maintaining an essentially cartel patterning of world oil production which keeps the control of oil from the well to the ultimate consumer under the

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apportioned domination of seven major companies and their intricately linked affiliates. As part of its price for contributing to war mobilization during World War II, oil pressed for and received a moratorium from anti-trust investigation and litigation.

Since 1935 the industry has received periodically from the Congress basic legislation authorizing an Interstate Oil Compact Commission. With conservation its avowed objective, this body serves as an effective meeting place for co-ordinating the official production and pricing controls characteristic of most oil states and designed to ensure that production never outruns "market demand", *i.e.*, the amount the industry estimates is likely to be consumed at industry-set prices. This has been a consistent objective since the earliest days of oil history when production quotas were set secretly by private groups. Nominally an organization of state officials, the Commission is under the constant surveillance of the oil companies who have always recognized it as an instrument for forestalling federal regulation. In past years oil companies have flown state members to the meetings, and the natural gas industry has footed banquet bills. The technique is more sophisticated today, although as usual the industry's vast private airplane fleet remains one of the significant ways the industry has for flattering and serving modestly paid political and administrative personnel at all levels. (In 1953, the Aircraft Industries Association reported the oil industry had more planes than the scheduled airlines.)

THE market forecasts from the US Bureau of Mines and the production quotas set by state agencies, notably the Texas Railroad Commission, are in effect industry predictions made under the protection of public law. Oil thus avoids the twin horrors of competition and anti-trust action. Production in excess of the prorationing orders of state agencies violates state law, just as interstate shipment of such "hot oil" violates the federal Connally Act. Prorationing is favored by the states to help independent producers get their share of the market, but the real power remains in the hands of the pipelines and refiners far beyond state boundaries. Potential oil states are fitted into this system by conservation (market demand) laws introduced even before oil is found. After the late Senator Kenneth Wherry (R, Neb.), never noted for his hostility to business, investigated this entire operation, he suggested that the President should suspend the Connally Act because of its use to create shortage and maintain price. Concluded his Small Business Committee: "There is a mechanism controlling the production of crude oil to market demand that operates as smoothly as the finest watch. . . ."

Currently much of big oil favors the use of state power to force recalcitrant producers to co-operate in the joint operation of fields. This has merit as a conservation measure. It also reveals oil's willingness to use government coercion when convenient, raising intriguing questions as to the industry's presumed commitment to the competitive system. (In the early 'thirties, the head of Standard of New Jersey even proposed that the government operate the flowing East Texas fields on a unitized basis.)

The industry is always careful to supply appropriate agencies of the federal government with a steady stream of temporary suitable personnel. This is an interesting contrast with other areas of government-business relations where the normal peacetime manpower flow tends to be from government to business and the level of ability of business men in government is considerably lower. During World War II, approximately 75 percent of the executive and technical staff of the Interior Department's Petroleum Administration for War came from the industry or closely allied fields, with less than ten percent coming from other government agencies.

Paradoxically, it was Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, the honest and outspoken public servant who was later to resign from Truman's cabinet over the nomination of California oilman Edwin Pauley as Undersecretary of the Navy, who accepted and developed this pattern. In 1936 Ickes had confided in his diary that "an honest and scrupulous man in the oil business is so rare as to rank as a museum piece." He likened dollar-a-year men in the War Production Board to crawling maggots looking out for their private interests. Reassuring those who warned him about business taking over government, he made clear he had no illusions about oil. But he explained that you could not get the industry to cooperate unless it participated in policy-making decisions, a judgment paralleling Walton Hamilton's definition of the War Production Board as "a House of Delegates from American industry." Ickes, for example, believed oil's 27½ percent depletion allowance was "thoroughly unconscionable," but would not say so publicly lest this put him at cross purposes with oil interests and make his job more difficult. His chief aide was Ralph Davies of Standard Oil of California. Rated as able and public spirited, Davies' record hurt him with his company, which continued to pay his salary. Relations were severed after the war. One vice president recently summed up the episode: "We once had a guy who wanted controls—Ralph Davies. He was socialistic minded." The American Petroleum Institute's William R. Boyd Jr. had a different conclusion: "It was a lucky day for America when the oil industry fell into the hands of its arch-enemy, Harold Ickes."

Every action of Interior—once described by Robert La Follette Sr. as the peacetime "sluiceway" for a large part of the corruption to which government is subjected—is closely watched. Discussions and decision in oil and gas are quickly transmitted to industry circles and oil newsletters. One former Interior staff member tells that when in 1949 the Secretary sent an inquiry about inperpetuity leases to the Director of Land Management,

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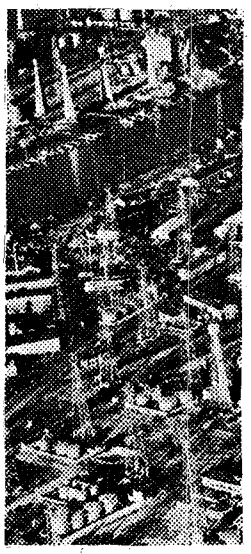

US PETROLEUM CONSUMPTION

	barrels
1850	500,000 *(estimated production)*
1912	200,000,000
1920	456,000,000
1930	927,000,000
1940	1,327,000,000
1950	2,375,000,000
1955	3,000,000,000 *(estimated)*
1975	5,000,000,000 *(projected)*

the next morning he received telegrams from Denver, San Francisco and elsewhere protesting any possible action.

At the time of Korea, oil people put great pressure to have the Petroleum Administration for Defense set up as an autonomous body reporting to the Secretary rather than through department channels. The various trade journals, closely linked to the industry, provide a good insight into the temper of the demand and oil's attitude towards government as a private preserve. For example, an editorial in the influential *National Petroleum News* in 1951 labelled government employees as the "inside U.S. Enemy" who hampered efforts in World War II:

> Oil as well as other big industries always will have to be ready to fight smearing attacks from the vicious and even just plain unintelligent bureaucrats and their supporters in Congress. Oil and other industries . . . will be on trial before a court of critics, if not downright enemies, with "spies" scattered liberally at jobs throughout industry's part of the war effort. . . . As in World War II, regulations for the most part will be drawn by men unfamiliar with a particular business or even any business. Among the volunteers to write these regulations will be the usual lot of unemployed or near unemployed reformers, people who can easily get away from their present jobs, and others who can use to advantage the thousand or so dollars additional they may get over their present modest pay.

Their solution was that the American Petroleum Institute, which has been the target of serious antitrust charges by the Justice Department in the past "should take up the task of supervising all personnel that have to do with petroleum supplies no matter in what government service, military or civilian, or in what land."

This suggestion is not as far fetched as it might appear, in view of the interlocking relationship API has with government agencies. More than half of the hundred-odd members of the National Petroleum Council, the chief oil study and advisory body within Interior, are also directors of the API. Many are registered lobbyists or heads or representatives of oil trade associations. NPC's chairman, an oilman rather than a public official as is customary in government advisory agencies, is Walter S. Hallanan, president of the Plymouth Oil Company, Republican committeeman from West Virginia, and a supporter of Taft, MacArthur and McCarthy. Hallanan believes that "America has little to fear from its business giants, who have served the country so well, as compared with the very real and imminent peril that it faces from the giant of government." The NPC makes studies on oil questions at the request of the Secretary of Interior, using experts from the various oil companies.

A similar pattern holds true in the Defense Department's Office of Petroleum Logistics. Its head, General W. W. White (who remains on the payroll of his former employer, the Esso Export Corp.) explains that "we build no empires here." The staff is small and by having an industry Military Petroleum Advisory Board "we in effect get working for us for gratis the companies' total employees and staff."

According to Assistant Secretary of Interior Felix E. Wormser, this Board "serves also to train industry personnel in the ways of Government operation and to keep the group advised on current problems so that an industry staff will be ready at all times to step into the leading positions of an emergency oil agency." With little danger of overstatement Wormser could thus recently report to a Senate Appropriations subcommittee that Interior's Oil and Gas Division has "established a most effective relationship with the oil and gas industry whereby through the National Petroleum Council, Military Petroleum Advisory Board, Foreign Petroleum Supply Committee, and the Gas Industry Advisory Council," the government receives industry's viewpoints.

OIL is quick to apply pressure upon those public servants who assume their responsibility for the handling of oil and gas extends beyond the industry. Witness the savage and successful assault upon ex-Federal Power Commissioner Leland Olds whose renomination was blocked because of his concern for the consumer and upon ex-Federal Trade Commissioner Stephen Spingarn whose character, mental stability and loyalty were publicly questioned because of his role in the release of a report on the international oil cartel in 1952. The staffs as well as policies of the Interstate Commerce, Federal Power and Federal Trade Commissions and the Justice, Defense and State Departments are closely watched.

Much of the industry's affection for the principle of states' rights is related to the recognition that it is harder to influence such figures as a Secretary of Interior, who, however amenable, is in the national limelight, than a state conservation commissioner who is obscure save to

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the immediate interest groups concerned. A Louisiana oilman contributed heavily to Earl Long's gubernatorial campaign reportedly in order to get rid of a Commissioner of Conservation. In the more sophisticated states you won't find oil that visible in politics, but neither will you see a commissioner unsympathetic to oil. Veto power is effectively exercised over gubernatorial choices for state geologists and regulatory officers. One can appreciate the virtues of local self rule when recalling the classic Texas prorationing controversy of 1931. Governor Ross S. Sterling, a former president of Humble Oil (a Standard of New Jersey subsidiary), ordered the state troops under the command of General Jacob F. Wolters to close the wells. "Wolters," relates an oil history subsidized by Standard, "had been called away from his duties as chief counsel for the Texas Company."

Traditionally, individual oilmen in Pennsylvania, Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana, California and the other oil states have exerted considerable influence in elections. Recalling his own experience with the power forces of his oil district which finally defeated him, a former Texas legislator and New Deal congressman made clear to the writer his conclusion that more than good citizenship is involved in these relations: The big boys from the utilities, the banks, railroads and oil and gas want to contribute to your campaign. They watch you to see if you are okay. Then they'll ask you how you stand on key issues if you are okay they'll want to contribute.

Membership on key Congressional and state legislative committees is screened for those who might be hostile to oil's requirements. Under the watchful lieutenantship of Speaker Sam Rayburn and Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson one test for a seat on the Senate Finance Committee and the House Rules and Ways and Means Committees, it has often been reported, is proper respect for the 27½ percent depletion allowance provided for oil drillers. (It is the Ways and Means Committee which initiates revenue legislation.) Reliable men are also placed on all committees dealing with natural resources. For example, Price Daniel of Texas, who had made "tidelands" his vehicle for capturing a Senate seat in 1952, was quickly placed on the Interior Committee by his Texas colleague, Lyndon Johnson.

Nor do the courts escape scrutiny. In 1951, the Texas House of Representatives, angered by the Supreme Court ruling in favor of the federal government's paramount rights over offshore lands, adopted a resolution requesting the impeachment of Justice William O. Douglas as responsible for "leading three other members of the Supreme Court into a decision which is in violation of the Constitution . . . and . . . which . . . wantonly and wrongfully robbed Texas and its public school fund of property rightfully belonging to it . . ." Resource-minded figures like Judge Bottomly of the Montana Supreme Court, who had been one of the few state attorneys general in the nation to oppose state control of offshore lands and who from the bench had fought industry's attempts to exploit his own state's public lands, was one of oil's big targets when he was up for re-election in 1954. But oil energies today tend to be devoted more to overruling judicial action through legislative recourse, as evidenced in the natural gas proposals now being introduced in Congress.

In recent years, oil's concern over politics has become focussed upon the Presidential race. It was more than coincidence that in 1948 the Dixiecrat party, part of a continuing plan to split and capture the Democratic party, had as a major plank the state control of "tidelands." Mr. Eisenhower's first legislative achievement in 1953 was the signing over to the states of portions of the offshore oil lands. The continuing appeal of this position is reflected in the recent announcement of Democratic Governor Kennon of Louisiana that he will back Eisenhower in 1956 if the Truman-Stevenson wing maintains power because his state is so much better off under Eisenower. "We're taking in $60 or $70 million in tidelands oil, which we would not have received under the Democrats."

Nor has it been coincidence that a huge civil suit against five major oil companies—Standard Oil (New Jersey), Standard of California, Socony-Vacuum, Texas and Gulf—based upon the cartel report of 1952, apparently has been allowed to peter out, with the anti-trust suit being given little encouragement and inadequate staff to continue. At the same time the very companies involved in the conspiracy charges worked with the State Department and oilman Herbert Hoover, Jr., now Undersecretary, to resolve the Iranian oil crisis. It should be noted that in early January of 1953, on the eve of the grand jury meeting to review the government's cartel case, and just as the Truman Administration was leaving office, the federal government dropped its criminal indictment against the big five, thus paving the way for the present administration's painless killing of the suit. This action was taken on the advice of the National Security Council at the insistence of the Defense and State Departments and the oil companies involved.

Shortly after the dropping of the indictment President Eisenhower appointed seven consultants to the National Security Council, including the presidents of Standard Oil Company (New Jersey), Monsanto Chemical, and Pacific Gas and Electric. The latter company, whose president James B. Black is also a director of Shell, has ties with Standard of California. Small wonder the Texas Company, whose overseas operations are closely integrated with those of Standard of California, could report to its stockholders and employees in the spring of 1953 that the 1952 election "strongly indicated endorsement of a great deal of what the petroleum industry stands for and believes in."

(The second article in this series will appear next week.)

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BOOKS AND COMMENT

A Case-Study Report on the Eisenhower Security Program

I The Fifty Who Were Accused

by Alan F. Westin

DURING the past fifteen years, the United States has experimented with four programs designed to assure fidelity among federal employees:

1. From 1939 to 1946, the Roosevelt-Hatch Act Program denied employment to persons "advocating the overthrow of the Government by force and violence";

2. From 1947 to 1951, the Truman Anti-Disloyalty Program (Executive Order 9835) provided for dismissals upon "reasonable grounds" for believing that the "person involved is disloyal to the Government of the United States";

3. From 1951 to 1953, the Truman Positive Loyalty Program (E.O. 10241) barred persons from federal employment when there was a "reasonable doubt as to the loyalty" of the individual;

4. From 1953 to the present, the Eisenhower Security Risk Program (E.O. 10450) has required that the services of a federal employee be shown to be "clearly consistent with the interests of national security."

Case Studies in Personnel Security, edited by Adam Yarmolinsky (Bureau of National Affairs).

Before very long, it would seem that we will be moving into a fifth program for the measurement of employee fidelity. Shortcomings in the present system coupled with a moderated public mood on "getting the communists out" have given political sex-appeal to the revision of the Eisenhower program, and the recent Brownell Reforms are only a beginning. In this situation, the timing could not be more perfect for the publication of Adam Yarmolinsky's *Case Studies in Personnel Security,* without doubt the most important collection of source material on the fidelity programs yet to appear in a non-classified document.

Actually, the book contains only 50 of the 300 cases on the Eisenhower Program collected by attorney-interviewers across the country, under a grant from the Fund for the Republic. Mr. Yarmolinsky, a young Washington attorney and former clerk to Supreme Court Justice Stanley Reed, displays a careful and modest attitude toward the volume he has edited. He makes the important observation that these cases are drawn only from the data available to the accused employee and his counsel, so that information not presented by the Government in its specification of charges or at the hearing but supplied privately to the hearing boards could not be included. Yarmolinsky also explains that the cases are not presented as an accurate cross-section of adjudications in the Eisenhower Program. While they do come from some fourteen cities and provide a variety of fact situations, the sample remains random and not scientific.

Within these limitations, the Yarmolinsky collection remains a gold mine of information and insights. Thirty-one cases deal with civilian employees of the federal government, fifteen with employees under the industrial security procedures, two with military personnel, one is a port security case, and one involves an employee of the United Nations. Twenty nine of the cases resulted in clearances for the employee; twenty-one in dismissals or non-clearance. Since E.O. 10450 covers all security situations and not merely "loyalty problems," there are cases included here dealing with alleged drunkenness, homosexuality, immorality, mental instability, and breach of security regulations.

There are moments of grim humor scattered through the transcripts: ". . . you have been closely associated with . . . Miss [F] who is known to have Communist leavings [sic]." There are also loose questions by board members and loose charges drawn up by security officers which seem to go beyond the proper scope of the Eisenhower Program: "Several reliable informants have described you as being . . . extremely critical of the American Legion and of American laws and institutions." In another case, involving a charge of Communist-front association, counsel for the Board "asked numerous questions concerning sex, the sex life and sex opinions of the employee. One such question was "What do you think of female chastity?' "

In addition to these occasional incidents, several disquieting tendencies emerge from the cases, such as:

1. Board counsel would at times interpret "association with known Communists" to mean association with persons "known to the Government" to be Communists.

2. "Association" frequently received a sweepingly wide interpretation. For example, association with alleged Communists or Communist fronters was based upon associations in a car pool or simple membership in a left-wing union when the employee had been required to join the union under a closed-shop contract in a World War II defense plant.

3. In quite a number of cases, charges were based upon listings of the California Un-American Activities Committee (whose proceedings under Senator Jack Tenney have been discredited among respectable anti-Communist agencies), while the Government Printing Office announced that it did not use the Attorney General's List of subversive organizations at all, but relied on that of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which, until recently, included listings of state committees.

4. Repeatedly, agency heads or their security chiefs who had not been present at the hearings—would reverse the judgments of the hearing boards. Employees and their counsel would be deprived, thereby, of ever appearing before the authority which overturned the hearing board's judgment. After the Chairman of one Board had told a clerical worker in the Signal Corps, ". . . I would like to say to [you] that we are sorry that we had to subject you to this sort of thing," and promptly cleared the employee, this decision was reversed by higher officials who based their ruling on a reading of "the entire available record."

Despite these troubling incidents, one comes away from the cases in this vol-

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ume with the feeling that, by and large, the proceedings were conducted with as much fairness and justice as the Eisenhower Program permitted. This, in turn, brings up the more fundamental questions raised by these proceedings:

1. Is it not possible to screen out frivolous charges and to eliminate the standard flamboyant charges of "continued Communist Party membership" when an insurance policy with the IWO is at issue?

2. Can there not be a cut-off date for earlier associations and opinions beyond which the Government will not go in raising questions about an employee whose present associations and opinions are within the fidelity standards?

3. Is it not possible to make available to the employee more information than is presently given him when the charges originate from non-FBI agent "confidential informants?"

On problems such as these, Mr. Yarmolinsky's short introduction offers no judgments or answers. This he leaves to those who are dealing with reform in the fidelity programs and to those whose opinions in public will be needed to effectuate such reforms.

II Consider for Example . . .

by Gerald W. Johnson

THIS detailed analysis of 50 security cases is a document filled with unearthly charm. In so describing it I am speaking, it is true, as a resident of the strictly terrestrial city of Baltimore, whose resemblance to the New Jerusalem is of the slightest; but I think the people of most American cities will find in some of these cases implications that the city of Washington is really out of this world.

Consider, for example, the case of the fellow whose job is firing a boiler in one of the government buildings. In any less imaginative city the idea that a coal-heaver has any chance to subvert the government would be regarded as rather far-fetched; but in Washington this one was yanked before the security authorities on a number of charges, of which the really startling one was No. 6—an allegation that in filing his application for a job he had failed to state that he had cohabited with a woman who was not his wife.

This looked like news. It seemed to be the first concrete evidence that the Eisenhower administration has elevated the moral tone of Washington to a stratospheric height. If it had made the town so pure that only virgin firemen could stoke the furnaces that would indeed be something to write home about. Unfortunately, the effect was somewhat spoiled by the action of the board in dismissing the charges. Apparently it is not yet official doctrine that the safety of the nation depends upon the chastity of the Black gang.

Then there is the case of the woman who was kept off her job for a long time while the board investigated charges made by her landlady that the government worker was accustomed to hold Communist meetings in her apartment. Asked how she knew that they were Communist meetings, the landlady explained that it was obvious because they used only candle light and kept their voices low.

Oh, well, that only goes to show how little spatial relations count in these days. The banks of the Potomac and the banks of the Patapsco are only forty miles apart, but the habits of thinking along them seem to be separated by light-years. To be sure, the observed phenomena are not unfamiliar to the Maryland Free State; it is the inference that is entirely different. When a gal entertains a friend in her apartment and the lights grow dim and the voices sink to a murmur, what is going on may be a Communist plot, but we don't think so in Baltimore.

Perhaps we denizens of the hinterland ought to be inspired to higher thoughts and nobler deeds by this evidence of the purity of the atmosphere that hangs above the Potomac marshes. Perhaps we should firmly resolve that our own ashcans shall not be emptied by unholy persons. Perhaps we should take the attitude that when boy meets girl in the dark their thoughts inevitably turn to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Perhaps—but I doubt that we will.

For we are hag-ridden by a conviction, born of long experience, that intense concentration on one objective entails neglect of others that may be of lesser importance and yet are not altogether trivia. Virgin firemen and stenographers whose capitalism is as immaculate as new-fallen snow are doubtless praiseworthy and to populate Washington with them would presumably be a noble experiment; but can it be denied that the effort to do so is attended with some slight disadvantages?

Who kept steam up while the stoker's chastity was under official investigation? Who typed the boss' letters while the landlady had her ear glued to the keyhole endeavoring to pick Marxism out of the murmurs? Of the 50 security cases analyzed, 25 were found to be nonsensical; yet each government worker involved had been suspended pending clearance and had been kept off the job for a period ranging from weeks to four or five or six months.

Only a few days ago I met in the street a man keenly interested in a slum clearance project jointly undertaken by the city, the state and the federal government. Everyone agrees that it is a good project. There is no opposition from any quarter; yet that man has been struggling for three years and six months to get the necessary papers signed and seems as far from the end as ever. If King Solomon with 300 wives were working on these papers, I don't see how our national security could be endangered; if Vyacheslav Molotov were working on them our atomic secrets would be as safe as ever; but I believe that if either had been on the job in Washington the carpenters and bricklayers would be on the job in the housing project now.

Perhaps the answer is the maxim *De minimis non curat lex.* If Washington can be kept pure, why worry about a few housing projects? A little more delay and my friend may be cutting out paper-dolls in some loony-bin, but what of that? As long as no government furnace-man sports with Amaryllis in the shade, and as long as no government girl whispers long quotations from *Das Kapital* in the boy friend's ear should we not lightly bear all minor inconveniences?

Such seems to be the logic of the security program as shown in these 50 cases; which seems to me to give it a charm that is definitely unearthly.

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John Dewey and American Liberalism

by Arthur Bestor

THE YEAR 1859 saw the birth of John Dewey and the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*. The coincidence is symbolic. Dewey's lifework might be described as the reconstruction of philosophy and education in terms of the biological, developmental point of view that Darwinism made central in men's thinking. By the time of Dewey's death, in 1952, however, the world had

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entered the atomic era. The sciences that are important today emphasize quite different concepts from those upon which he erected his system. We are obliged now to think of Dewey as a historic figure rather than a voice speaking directly to the contemporary world.

In the most recent volume of Dewey selections, *John Dewey, His Contribution to the American Tradition,* edited by the late Erwin Edman (Bobbs-Merril; $3.50), Dewey is presented as one of the "Makers of the American Tradition." What was his real relationship to that tradition? His disciples, naturally enough, treat his ideas as the quintessence of what is distinctively American in thought. All truly democratic tendencies in American thought are assumed to flow into or out from pragmatism. Consequently no genuine liberalism seems to pragmatists possible unless it abjures the "absolutes" that supposedly vitiate all non-pragmatic theories. This identification of democracy with the doctrines of a particular philosophic sect is not only unwarranted by logic or history, it is also a definite handicap to American liberalism in the ideological struggles of the second half of the twentieth century.

The liberalism of John Dewey himself is beyond all question. Few men have been so consistently on the side of the angels, even over a much shorter span of life than Dewey's 92 years. Nor is there any doubt that pragmatism (or instrumentalism, a Dewey preferred to call it) effectively served the cause of liberalism in the first three decades or so of the twentieth century. The point is that the alliance between pragmatism and liberalism was a fortuitous one, called forth by a particular historical situation. To understand the influence that Dewey's philosophy exerted upon the American liberal tradition, one must view his ideas as a response to an exceptional set of circumstances affecting American life most strongly between the middle 1890's and the middle 1930's.

As the nineteenth century neared its end, the normal relationship between liberalism and conservatism became rather curiously inverted. By and large, throughout history, it has been the liberal or reformer who has spoken in terms of ideal and unchanging principles of ethics and justice. Typically he has appealed from the law of man to the law of God. He has rejected the things seen which are temporal in favor of the things unseen which are eternal. He has declined to accept immemorial custom as binding and instead has proclaimed the existence of unalienable rights derived from the Creator himself.

The conservative, in most eras, has been the one to deprecate such appeals to the changeless and the absolute. He has customarily argued for actual experience as against abstract theory. He has admired the realistic, pragmatic adjustment of men and institutions which constitutes the status quo. He has condemned as doctrinaire every suggestion for deliberately altering the delicate balance that time has achieved between human needs and human capacities. It has been the conservative who has proclaimed, with Pope, that "spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,/One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right."

Opposing doctrines somehow changed partners during the latter part of the nineteenth century. What happened, in brief, was that conservatives began to convince themselves and others that the status quo was not, at bottom, a mere product of practical, realistic adjustment between imperfect men and an imperfect world. Instead conservatives began to conceive of the status quo as an awe-inspiring incarnation of ultimate, eternal, unchanging verities.

The success of the new doctrinaire conservatism (a contradiction in terms, so Burke might have thought) can be illustrated from American constitutional law. The Fourteenth Amendment had obviously been designed to safeguard the civil rights of the newly freed Negroes by guaranteeing those rights at the very highest level, in the fundamental law of the land. The procedure was identical with that which liberals had used when they insisted on incorporating the Bill of Rights in the Constitution as the first ten amendments. This time-honored device of the liberal—hitching his wagon to a star—somehow failed to work in this instance. By the 1890's (*Plessy v. Ferguson* was decided in 1896) it was clear that the Supreme Court had no intention of passing judgment on Jim Crowism by measuring it against the ideal standard of justice which "due process of law" implied. On the other hand, the Court was obviously willing and even anxious to stretch the same due process clause to its farthest limits when the economic and social status quo required protection against progressive legislation. The higher law had ceased to be a law to which one might appeal against vested interests, because the highest law was now held to be the very law by which interests became vested.

As the twentieth century dawned, one discouraging fact stared all liberals in the face. Their historic weapons—unalienable rights, due process, and even freedom itself (in such contexts as "freedom of contract")—had all been appropriated by the enemy. The liberal armory was alarmingly empty. The best hope of replenishing it was to turn about and spoil the Egyptians. Pragmatism constituted, in essence, this sacred act of intellectual spoliation.

John Dewey attacked the new doctrinaire conservatism at its weakest point, namely, its treatment of evolution. Darwinism did provide important arguments for old-fashioned, skeptical, hard-headed conservatism—the kind that respected experience and distrusted high-flown theorizing about imprescriptible rights and immutable law. The doctrinaire conservatives took over, however. Calling themselves "social Darwinists," they attempted to derive from evolution itself a new set of absolutes, namely an imprescriptible right to freedom from economic interference by the state and an immutable law of *laissez faire.*

In arguing thus, conservatives overreached themselves. Evolution, after all, did picture a changing world. Conserva-

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"The Shimmer of Evil"

— *Louise Bogan*

THE weather wept, and all the trees bent down;
Bent down their birds: the light waves took the waves;
Each single substance glittered to the stare;
Each vision purely, purely was its own:
—There was no light; there was no light at all:

Far from the mirrors all the bushes rang
With their hard snow; leaned on the lonely eye;
Cold evil twinkled tighter than a string; a fire
Hung down: And I was only I.
—There was no light; there was no light at all:

Each cushion found itself a field of pins,
Prickling pure wishes with confusion's ire;
Hope's holy wrists: the little burning boys
Cried out their lives an instant and were free.
—There was no light; there was no light at all.

THEODORE ROETHKE

tives ought to have been content to emphasize the fact that evolution pictured a world changing with glacial slowness. When, however, conservatives began to argue that evolution proved the existing world to be a perfect embodiment of static, immutable principles, they were obviously climbing out on a very long and precarious intellectual limb. John Dewey sawed off that particular limb neatly and with gusto. His "Influence of Darwin on Philosophy" (unfortunately not included in the present collection) made the sensible observation that evolution is a theory of change and cannot possibly furnish arguments to support a belief in immutable principles, whether philosophical or social.

It was as a dissolvent of untenable dogmas and misapplied certitudes that pragmatism served the liberal cause. This was precisely what liberalism needed—indeed, what the nation needed—in the forty-odd years from the 1890's to the 1930's. Pressing reforms were defeated time after time, not by arguments that went to the merits of the issue but by genuflexions before an ark of the covenant that looked suspiciously like a cash-register, gilded. Pragmatists did not believe in arks but they knew all about cash-registers, and they taught the American people to look cautiously at the objects they were being called upon to revere.

During the epoch under discussion, liberalism had relatively little use for rigorous philosophical definitions of its content and direction. The need was not for elaborate formulations of the liberal position but for concerted effort to pull the cork.

The cork was pulled in the era of the New Deal. After the middle 1930's liberalism was confronted by new problems, of an ultimate rather than a merely practical kind. At this point, pragmatism revealed its fundamental inadequacy. The pragmatists took so much for granted that they were in fact offering a mere methodology rather than a full-fledged philosophy. In particular, their system of values was little more than an unexamined acceptance of the preferences that men of good will in America had been expressing for the two or three generations just past.

Take, for example, a characteristic statement from Dewey's *Reconstruction in Philosophy* (1920):

> We use our past experiences to construct new and better ones in the future. The very fact of experience thus includes the process by which it directs itself in its own betterment.

This is the kind of statement that a man can accept as adequate only if he feels that the distinction between better and worse experience is so obvious as to require no particular reflection on the part of the person making it. Neither philosophers nor liberals have been accustomed to respect such offhand judgments, which often turn out to be little more than conditioned reflexes. Only the peculiar circumstances of the early twentieth century, it seems to me, could have induced a philosopher and liberal like Dewey to rely so heavily upon the infallibility of the average man's unreflective choice between better and worse.

Those historical circumstances have already been noted. The liberal program was being blocked, but its fundamental assumptions were not really being called in question. Liberals and conservatives could agree pretty well about the human meaning of better and worse; they differed about the practical measures which would lead to betterment. Under the circumstances pragmatism was a powerful and relevant doctrine, and the low candle-power of the light it could shed upon ultimate issues was no handicap.

In the late 1930's, however, when democratic liberalism was challenged on a world-wide scale by Fascism and by an increasingly brutal Communism, Dewey began to reach beyond the cramped confines of instrumentalism for defenses of the democracy that he cherished far more dearly than intellectual consistency. His *Freedom and Culture* (1939) contains a long passage in which he subscribes wholeheartedly to Jefferson's doctrine of "inherent and unalienable rights," speaks passionately of "ideal aims and values," and argues that these utterly non-pragmatic concepts can be converted into pragmatic ones if only, in the phrase "natural rights," we will agree to "translate the word 'natural' into *moral*."

Another passage from the same work deserves analysis:

> A . . . sober view of history discloses that it took a very fortunate conjunction of events to bring about the rapid spread and seemingly complete victory of democracy during the nineteenth century. The conclusion to be drawn is not the depressing one that it is now in danger of destruction because of an unfavorable conjunction of events. The conclusion is that what was won in a more or less external and accidental manner must now be achieved . . . by deliberate and intelligent endeavor.

Gone from this passage is the idea, so omnipresent in Dewey's earlier writings, that the attempt to maintain an abstract principle or an established set of institutions in the face of changing circumstances is a manifestation of blind reaction. Dewey's final word to Americans is an admonition to cling to democracy as a thing of ultimate value, the worth of which is unaffected by the vicissitudes of time. This is good liberalism. It is not, I submit, good pragmatism.

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The Uses of Experience

by Alfred Kazin

LESLIE FIEDLER'S *An End To Innocence,* a first book, is a collection of literary and political essays that seems to have been published with the particular encouragement of the American Committee For Cultural Freedom. (The book is in a series edited by the executive director of the American Committee for Cultural Freedom, and features special testimonials by two officials of the Committee.) In an extremely self-conscious preface, Mr. Fiedler tells us that he feels "just a little misrepresented by a first book so largely political," that he is primarily a literary person, but that he has been forced, like all our generation, through a crisis in liberalism which seems to him "a major event in the development of the human spirit." It is on this reluctant note, of a man sadly committed to a public service, but who would rather occupy himself with purely literary studies, that Mr. Fiedler exposes "the age of innocence." He reviews the Hiss-Chambers case, with Chambers emerging a Dostoevskian hero, unattractive but desperately honest; he analyzes the death-house correspondence between Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, showing how unbelievably fanatical they remained on the eve of execution; he insists that McCarthy is a complex and far more ambiguous figure than certain naïve intellectuals believe; he brings together, into his memories of a Fulbright year in Italy, his indignation at how little Europe knows America and how deliberately, indeed, it misrepresents us. There is a brilliant literary essay on Whitman's reputation, and a very acute piece on how the West (Mr. Fiedler teaches in Montana) commercializes the literary myth of itself. There is also a piece of claptrap, "Come Back To The Raft Ag'In, Huck Honey!", showing that *Huckleberry Finn* is about homosexual love, and some bright remarks, not very conclusive nor very true, pointing up Scott Fitzgerald as a failure and informing us that the American novel has graduated from its former adolescence into its present maturity.

An End to Innocence, by Leslie A. Fiedler (Beacon, cloth, $3.50; paper, $1.25).

Mr. Fiedler is a very clever writer; he has an engaging gift of candor, and he learned long ago not merely to accept himself as a Jew, an intellectual, a writer passionately interested in political events and a political critic essentially dedicated to literature, but, wherever possible, to throw his "tragic" knowledge at people in such a way as to embarrass them. He tells us that his essay on *Huckleberry Finn* has outraged the homosexuals, and adds—"This, I suspect, is success." This may be success, but I'm afraid that it is the only kind of success that can come from such deliberate provocativeness—this air of talking, talking brightly, brashly, penetratingly, all the time, no matter what the subject or whom he embarrasses. This provocativeness is not the sort of infantile bravado which is so marked in a really interesting writer like Randall Jarrell; it is more a kind of fatalistic, "merry," desperate acceptance of Fiedler's fate in our society, of himself.

This candor, this aggressive superiority to other people's "innocence" and delicacy, is the distinguishing mark of what Mr. Fiedler writes. It explains why, when anyone else would have ignored the correspondence between the Rosenbergs—published, after the excution, by the Communist defense committee—Mr. Fiedler not only rushed in to examine, in remorseless detail, all their sickening disingenuousness on the eve of death, but now adds surprise and dismay that anyone could have missed the pain that he himself experienced in *having* to write this article. Similarly, it is this same, this really unbelievable insistence on his own forthrightness in saying what so clearly needs to be said that leads him to write that "There is scarcely a Montanan who does not at one remove or another share in the hoax and in the take; who has not, like the nightclub Negro or the stage Irishman, become the pimp of his particularity, of the landscape and legend of his state." Or to explain that "Katherine Anne Porter and Eudora Welty . . . began the process of taming and feminizing Faulkner . . . making possible the ingrafting of Henry James which produces the true Magnolia Blossom or Southern Homosexual style." It is this, again, that compels Mr. Fiedler to admit that he was the one believing Jew in Rome at Passover and that he is the one intellectual in Montana not afraid to call things out there by their right names. His review of *From Here To Eternity* is called "Dead-End Werther: The Bum As American Cultural Hero."

Candor is an important, and sometimes a great, literary device, but with all the feelings that a man may have as a Jew, as an intellectual, as an American who has passed through the delusions of the thirties, Mr. Fiedler seems to me shrewd rather than desperate in the way he has exploited his experiences. To what purpose, encouraged by officials of the American Committee For Cultural Freedom, has he shown us that Hiss was guilty and that the Rosenbergs were Communists; that Scott Fitzgerald was a failure, Whitman not what he seemed, and that we, God bless us, have come through to "maturity" in the American novel? Granted that American liberalism did pass through a period of self-deception, that we are now less the dupes of certain theories than we were in the thirties. What are the uses of experience in fiction today that allow us to be superior to those poor old "innocents" who wrote *Winesburg, Ohio, An American Tragedy, The Great Gatsby, The Sun Also Rises?* What are the uses of experience on the American Committee For Cultural Freedom, that organization dominated by ex-Marxists who are also so careful to let us know that they have repented of their past? What, since Mr. Fiedler is at such pains to tell us that he is a faithful Jew and believes that the Jews are the chosen people—what has he learned from his religious experience that would take the form of not sneering at the Jews of Rome, who hardly know what Passover means?

What are the uses of experience, this sad wisdom that Mr. Fiedler has come to, his stern and reluctant acceptance of capitalist America, his tragic acceptance of the fact that "we are an embodiment of the least palatable necessities of history?" Is it Mr. Fiedler's outrageous calculation that *we* murdered only two Rosenbergs, whereas *they* can shoot millions without arousing the same indignation? Is it the insight that while the intellectuals were wrong, "the buffoons and bullies, those who *knew* really nothing about the Soviet Union, were right—stupidly right, if you will, accidentally right, right for the wrong reasons, but damnably right?" Is it the habit of describ-

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ing the most painful realities of our epoch only in literary types, so that, brave man that Mr. Fiedler is, he can give us this portrait of Dean Acheson: "his waxed moustache, his mincing accent, his personal loyalty to a traitor who also belonged to the Harvard Club; one is never quite sure that he was not invented by a pro-McCarthy cartoonist?" Is it this description of the evil in McCarthy as "not the reactionary blackness of the oil interests or of the Catholic Church, but of something in the American people which grows impatient with law and order, with understanding and polite talk, when it feels it has been betrayed?"

Despite the encouragement which the book has received and the air of AT LAST TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT THE RED DECADE, Mr. Fiedler's book is not at all the book of an ex-Communist—of someone who, like Whittaker Chambers, may be said to have passed through a profound experience. This book is wholly a literary concoction, in the sense that it has been plainly put together in order to give Mr. Fiedler a rallying theme for a collection of his essays and, through his bright and provocative talent, to give a literary publicist to the American Committee For Cultural Freedom. It is this situation, I suppose, that explains the unnatural and strident reiteration of the theme of "innocence" in the book—the worst of which is Mr. Fiedler's utterly unconscious patronizing of any creative talent as "innocent," compared with a really knowledgeable critic like himself. And in the political realm, it is not a sense of former innocence but of actual loss, of a painful nostalgia, as Chambers' book clearly shows, that the hardened veterans of the Communist thirties really feel. Mr. Fiedler impresses me, as not being half so indignant about the "age of innocence" as he tries to feel; frankly, I don't think he cares this much at all, and it is this that makes his book so peculiarly disagreeable. But he has found a fashionable thesis, a rallying cry for his first book, and what an irony it is that this book, so carefully planned, so eager to startle and to provoke, should, just at this moment of peaceful co-existence at least, be out of date.

Next Week

Hawthorne as a political novelist, a Reassessment by Irving Howe.

TELEVISION

A CONNECTION exists between high taxes and low ethics in our day. Taxes undoubtedly serve as an influence for the bad, and an alibi. Note the growth in Britain of the spiv, the angle-shooter who operates on a cash basis like an American hoodlum. Note, too, that the British Government chooses to lay no restraining hand upon the notorious betting pools, which are tacitly accepted as useful to the mass myth-hope of easy money. We mentioned here recently that our own discouragingly high taxes have inflamed public zest for "The $64,000 Question" and the whole rigamarole of prizes, gifts, windfalls, sponsored honeymoons and whatnot. In political terms one thinks of mink coats, iceboxes and friendly reminders on Air Force letterheads to help along one's side-line.

If the bad ethics may be argued, the bad taste is quite clear no further away than your television set. For here is the perfect mirror of the yearning for side-lines and extra revenues. The multiplication of angles and the almost perceptible deterioration of the standards of dignity respected by prominent persons may be checked any afternoon or evening. This is the anything-goes era providing there is a publicity or money payoff. Non-smoking athletes endorse cigarettes. Once-high-brow critics play the air zany. Professors pretend to folksiness in a striving for a good Pulse rating.

There seems no real cut-off point anymore. What impels self-professedly "sophisticated" persons of both sexes to put themselves in awkward predicaments, like the guests of the Stork Club when Sherman Billingsley saunters over to the table, mike in hand, cameras panning close behind him? This elaborate mustering of science serves only that a silly question may elicit a silly answer. Although intended to enhance *chi-chi*, the Stork Club telecasts may have destroyed the illusion of smartness forever. Nonetheless the same sort of thing goes on—the giant hoax of eavesdropping on celebrities. Recently there was such a pickup from the gaudy new Beverly Hilton Hotel. It found everybody selling everything. My column tomorrow will say—. My next picture will be—. How's that wonderful television series of yours, dawling—?

Bob Hope has popularized the term "Sellebrity" by which he means a star on a sales assignment. The term is being taken up by the New York advertising agencies for it has a melodic and pat pong to the huckster ear and says, succinctly, something they have been increasingly emphasizing. The phrase is a pun but it renders a state of mind. Today with anybody, but anybody, supposedly prepared to do a job of selling for an appropriate consideration, the huckster grows resentful when a star tries to hold the old line of dignity.

One vice president of an agency put it this way, "It's just too bad when a star who is willing to pick up a $4,000 voucher from a soap peddler is too proud to mention that soap." In other words, one hand must wash the other. For sarcastic accent the huckster added, "Do these stars think they'll be snubbed at the Lambs Club by layoff actors?"

To see the huckster ideal of a well-integrated plug, an afternoon quiz program will serve. In addition to the regular visual and verbal salesmanship the contestant stands in front of a replica of the coffee can sponsoring the program and lest this not seem sufficiently visual he is handed two cans of coffee to hold while photographed in deep thought.

With quiz programs we come full circle round back to income taxes and their effect upon the thinking, the dreams, the taste and the practices of our generation. For the Internal Revenue agents are, by common agreement among broadcasters, uncommonly well-informed on winners and winnings. Indeed the FBI recently got into the act, recognized a television contestant as somebody they were after. The man's arrest made a swell press agent angle.

WENDELL BROGEN

Notes on Contributors

ALAN F. WESTIN, who teaches at Harvard, is the author of *The Constitution and Loyalty Programs*. ARTHUR BESTOR, who will spend the next winter at Oxford as an exchange-professor, is the author of a new book, *The Restoration of Learning*. THEODORE ROETHKE is a Pulitzer prize-winning poet. ALFRED KAZIN, who joins the faculty of Amherst College this fall, will publish a new book of criticism in October. WENDELL BROGEN writes frequently on TV and popular culture.

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CORRESPONDENCE

► Psychiatry and the Law

SIRS:

Mr. Goodman has done a creditable job in his article on the relationship of psychiatry to criminal behavior and criminal law ("Lawyers, Psychiatrists and Crime," *NR*, August 1, 8, 15). He has presented the divergent points of view with accuracy but has produced no ready formula for their resolution. To be sure, there is none. He might, however, have noted the signs of a growing rapprochement between psychiatry and law. The real leaders in both disciplines have come to recognize the great area of common ground and their common objectives. For instance, at Yale and at the University of Texas there are men who hold faculty positions in the department of psychiatry and also in the law school. As part of their psychiatric training in the medical schools of Johns Hopkins University and the University of Maryland, the students attend criminal trials and then discuss psychiatric and legal aspects of the proceedings with members of the staff of the psychiatric clinic serving the Baltimore trial courts. Members of the clinic staff give a well attended elective course in the Law School of the University of Maryland. A committee of the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry has had numerous joint sessions with judges and lawyers in the preparation of their reports on criminal responsibility and expert testimony. The American Law Institute is relying heavily on the assistance of psychiatrists in the drafting of a model criminal code. These are only samples; similar activities are going on in many centers.

In his final article, Mr. Goodman lists a three-fold psychological function of the judicial process. I shall include a fourth — that of giving a heightened sense of security. Modern man is almost as much in need of this as was primitive man. The ritual of the law, its apparent certainty and its definitive finality, its resolution of ambiguities and uncertainties produce a sense of security which, although false at times, we can afford to give up only very slowly. Until the popular attitude toward psychiatry and psychiatrists has undergone a radical change, I should be loathe to make the psychiatrist the front man.

Mr. Goodman has, I believe, misunderstood statements that I have made in regard to the criteria that I think should be used in deciding when criminally insane individuals should be released from a hospital. I have maintained that dangerousness to the community be the controlling criterion rather than, as some legalists have asserted, the old time worn formula of the M'Naghten Rule (with its "knowledge of right and wrong,") because this was the basis of their commitment. I have felt further, that release should come through the Court on psychiatric recommendation, rather than from the medical head of the institution. My reason for this is contained in the paragraph above.

In dealing with the treatment of criminals, mention should be made of group therapy. Many believe that, from both a theoretical and practical point of view, this may well prove to be the chief method of the future.

I am somewhat at a loss to know why I should be included among those who wish to keep men in psychiatric institutions. Furthermore, I do not believe that most psychiatrists could be accused of this. There are a few white mice among the psychiatrists who timorously refuse to advocate the release of their patients. And there are a few reckless gamblers who take undue risks. But, by and large, mistakes of omission and commission are infrequent. The psychiatrists' batting averages are surely higher than those of parole boards.

It may interest your readers to know that the 23-year-old Baltimore Negro to whom Dr. Karpman referred, will no longer be periodically released in the community, since he was given a sentence of 84 years in the penitentiary for this series of burglaries.

My tolerance of normality is apparently much greater than Dr. Karpman's. I see the normal band as very broad in the behavioral spectrum. Certainly all criminals are socially maladjusted, but in my opinion most of them are not psychiatrically ill. If one is going to term everyone who shows a deficiency in reality testing on the basis of imprudent behavior, as sick, then the numbers of sick are indeed legion. I hesitate to consider all persons with insecure jobs who buy too lavishly on an installment basis as sick. Nor do I believe that the man who occasionally gambles and loses more than he can afford or the steel worker who sometimes apportions too large a fraction of his wages to a week-end binge are sick. Such examples of nonsapient behavior by us humans could be multiplied by astronomical figures. But, to my way of thinking, this is not illness. My guess is that about eighty percent of criminal behavior is evidence of serious imprudence and of social pathology rather than of mental disease.

MANFRED S. GUTTMACHER, M.D.,
Chief Medical Officer
Medical Service of the Supreme Bench
Baltimore, Md.

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SIRS:

If we replace the concept of "crime and punishment" with that of "illness and treatment," I see no reason why we cannot hospitalize an offender for his crime. The approach would be an attempt to correct the personality defects which led to his antisocial behavior. If this can be done, and we are reasonably certain that a return to society will not result in further crime, both the individual and society are served. There are, unfortunately, a considerable number of offenders who are not remediable by present psychiatric techniques. This constitutes the group who must be cut off from society for the general security—not punished, but isolated, much as someone with an incurable contagious disease might be.

There is one area, however, in which we must improve our techniques before such a scheme is completely feasible. There are still many instances where our ability is limited in predicting the future behavior of the treated criminal whom we feel ready to release. Although inadequate knowledge at present would impose a certain arbitrariness on the time of release, my own experience would not lead me to feel that we are in danger of having our hospital psychiatrists "keep" patients in order to avoid any possible risks and subsequent censure.

I cannot close without pointing out a great distortion on the part of lawyers who maintain that our mental institutions are unduly cruel and sadistic. By and large, our hospitals are as humane

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as public funds and support allow them to be.

As far as treatment techniques are concerned, Mr. Goodman's description of electric shock is frightfully misleading and destructive. As in a *grand mal* epileptic seizure, which electric shock therapy simulates, the patient almost always has complete amnesia for the actual treatment, as well as for a short period after it, and usually even for a brief period before the treatment. There is no conscious perception of pain whatsoever, and I have yet to see a patient who felt anything like being "roasted alive in a white hot furnace." . . .

HAROLD R. GALEF, M.D.

Fort Worth, Texas

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SIRS:

The primary purpose of the courts in this country is to protect the rights of the individual, one of which is that he cannot be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law. Only if I am adjudged mentally defective, insane, or guilty of a crime or misdemeanor, can I be deprived of my liberty. If I am convicted of a crime or misdemeanor, the law prescribes a certain maximum sentence which may for other considerations be shortened, but never lengthened.

When Dr. Karpman claims that no criminal, legally insane or not, is responsible for his actions, he is probably right. If he is right, though, the issue of insanity should be irrelevant in any criminal case. The law should determine the question of guilt or innocence and then pronounce sentence according to the severity of the offense. It makes no difference whether a murderer be sane or insane; he should be held in custody as long as the law will allow, unless he is judged to have been cured of his criminal propensities.

Once sentence has been pronounced, the aim should be, of course, not to punish but to rehabilitate or cure. Most prisons could safely be without walls. I doubt, however, that the whole process could be handled by psychiatrists. For one thing, there aren't enough psychiatrists to go around, as a cursory inspection of our mental institutions will show. In the second place, no psychiatrist would be qualified unless he had made a special study of criminology. Actually it would be preferable for the convicts to be handled by a team of psychiatrists, social workers, sociologists, clinical psychologists, etc., all of whom have specialized in criminology from the point of view of their respective disciplines.

Such a program would, of course, be compulsory psychotherapy. There can be no objection to that; if the law can put a man on a rock pile, it can certainly put him on a couch. If compulsory psychotherapy can get him out of prison before the expiration of his sentence and really cure him, thus saving the taxpayers money both in the short run and the long run, then I am all for it.

But it must always be remembered that compulsory psychotherapy is only for the person who has been deprived of liberty by the due process of law. Once a person's sentence is completed he must be released whether or not he is cured or curable.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I was distressed by the unspoken assumption in Mr. Goodman's article that where psychiatrists and lawyers disagree the lawyers must be wrong. Psychiatrists disagree with each other. In court they have been known to go off the deep end, as in the Alger Hiss trial. It would be foolish to give any profession too much power over our lives, for none of us would care to live under a government of, by, (and eventually for) psychiatrists.

PETER B. DENISON

Cumberland, Md.

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SIRS:

As a professional practitioner, I would like to make two comments on Goodman's otherwise excellent exposé: One, his chief source appears to be Dr. Benjamin Karpman. He happens to be my chief source of medical criminology, too. However, for the general and lay public to mention this source too frequently will create the quite erroneous impression that Karpman's outstanding views are generally accepted. Unfortunately, they are not. He seems to be half a century ahead of our times.

Second: The root of [most criminal] behavior lies not only, as pointed out by Goodman, in early childhood, but in our society's proven inability, indifference, intolerance, and ignorance in dealing with these offenders at the right time. For instance, at the present I am dealing with a murder case of a 21-year-old man, who, while burglarizing a home in Los Angeles, coldly shot its owner who "dared" to resist. This man has been in the psychiatric wards of several major mental hospitals in the East and, prior to his commitments, was an inmate of a nationally famous school for delinquent and seriously disturbed children in New York. Always released as "improved" or discharging himself against the doctors' consent, he was free to kill. Cases like these can be multiplied into the hundreds.

To sum up, it seems to me that (a) all state legislatures should stop being pound-foolish about appropriations for vitally needed services dealing with the mentally ill; that (b) our new Department of not-too-much Health, Welfare, and Education should federally instigate and initiate a program of rehabilitation on a national scale. The cost may be a few hundred million dollars, certainly penny expenditures as compared with the huge damage resulting from the crimes committed every day and small fry compared with our national expenditures on defense or on liquor, which run into many billions of dollars.

HANS A. ILLING

Los Angeles, California

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SIRS:

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To a Teacher Who Can't Fit His Subject into a Pigeonhole

In the years when Herbert Croly, Alvin Johnson, Walter Lippmann and Francis Hackett were among the editors of the *New Republic,* higher education was more departmentalized than it is now. The trend is away from classification of knowledge into separate, unconnected subjects. Atomic energy, for example, is important not only to the physical scientists, but to the economist, the political scientist, and the student of world affairs as well.

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